

INTER PARTY CLASHES— A DANGER TO U.F. AND DEMOCRATIC MASS MOVEMENTS

Reports of naked violent clashes between different constituent parties of the United Front in West Bengal are coming out in the pages of newspapers almost daily to the great delight of the enemies of the Front and deep dismay of the people at large who want it to function as a team in furthering legitimate democratic mass movements. These reports of violent clashes between different constituent parties of the United Front are not just make-believe stories fabricated by the bourgeois press which is out to discredit the Front. They are very much real. The violent clash between the CPI (M) and the RSP at Alipurduar in the district of Jalpaiguri, the violent clash between the CPI (M) and the SSP at Purba Mallickpur under Dhupguri P.S. in the same district, the violent clashes between the CPI (M) and the CPI at Haringhata and Cooper's Camp in Nadia district, the violent clash between the CPI (M) and the SSP at East Nimcha Colliery in the district of Burdwan, the violent murderous attack on the supporters of the SUC by the CPI (M) workers at Krishna Glass and Silicate factory at Jadavpur in the district of 24 Parganas, the murder of one SUC worker by some FB workers (who till the other day had been local Congress leaders) at Dharmatala under Canning P.S. in the same district are, to mention only a few, some of these violent clashes. Besides these and many other major violent clashes, quite a large number of minor clashes between the constituent parties of the United Front have also taken place during the last couple of months. It is unnecessary to multiply instances to bring home the point to our readers.

It goes without saying that these violent clashes between different constituent parties of the United Front are not helping in any way. On the contrary, they are weakening the solidarity of the Front and tarnishing its image in the estimation of the people who are becoming increasingly sceptic of the Front as an effective instrument of organised united democratic mass movements against vested interests and reaction because of these open violent clashes. It must not be forgotten that the people who have voted the United Front to governmental

power are not politically conscious and organisationally steered people prepared for any battle against reaction. Their political consciousness has developed to the extent of their realisation of the Congress as an anti-people party and recognition of the United Front as the only alternative to Congress mis-rule and oppression. This is certainly a step forward and a welcome sign. But if violent clashes between different constituent parties of the United Front continue to recur, the politically immature people will lose all faith in the Front,

Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA

(Fortnightly)

Editor-in Chief—Shibdas Ghosh

VOL 2
No. 4

JUNE 21, 1969
SATURDAY

PRICE
20 P.

suffer from frustration and in the long run, react in a manner that will create political vacuum, advantages of which will be taken by the forces of extreme right reaction like the Jan Sangh. as has happened in some states in Northern India, to the detriment of all progressive movements not only in West Bengal but also in the country as a whole. Neither the United Front nor any constituent party of it can afford to remain blind to this dangerous possibility. Effective steps should, therefore, be taken in all seriousness to stop recrudescence of such violent clashes, repair the damaged solidarity and restore the image of the Front as the only effective instrument of developing legitimate democratic mass movements. That requires, first of all, a scientific probe into the root cause of these violent clashes. But the fact is that this has been utterly neglected so far,

Some political commentators of the bourgeois Press in their characteristic 'omniscience' have attributed these violent clashes to United Front itself. Their arguments, stripped of so-called scholastic garb, boil down to this that, since the United Front is composed of different political parties with divergent and even diametrically opposite ideologies, violent clashes between its constituent parties are inevitable. This is sheer non-sense. It is a slander against the very concept of the United Front. It is a subtle propaganda to establish the bad logic of the Congress that a Front consisting of

different parties with different aims and objectives can never function unitedly, far less administer the country. No politically honest man can allow himself to be caught in this false mischievous propaganda trap laid by the reactionary forces and vested interests.

Be that as it may, let us examine their argument. It is true that the United Front is composed of different parties with divergent and even diametrically opposite ideologies. In the circumstances, it is perfectly scientific to conclude that ideological struggles between different constituent parties of the Front cannot be ruled out. For, in matters of principle and ideology there can be no compromise. Every party in the United Front is free to propagate its own ideology. To stop ideological struggles between different constituent parties in the United Front in the name of maintenance of unity or on any other plea means to put an embargo on free flow of thought, ban struggle and inter-action of ideas and objectively surrender the right of the exploited masses of the people to expose the rottenness of bourgeois ideas that are polluting the people culturally and obstructing social progress. Hence, for proper political education of the masses of the people, for freeing them from the influence of bourgeois ideas and forces of habit inimical to real interests of the emancipation of the down-trodden millions from capitalist enslavement and for upgrading the level of their ideolo-

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ON CENTRE-STATE RELATION

No fundamental problem of society can be resolved by amending Constitution

In the mid-term poll the people have installed U.F. Ministry by an overwhelming majority. In most of the cases the people have lent their support to the U.F. as a whole and not to any particular party excepting in a few pockets where the people might have voted for a particular party. During the last twenty years of Congress misrule, the people experienced acute privation, economic exploitation and police oppression and naturally with the installation of U. F. Ministry they are legitimately expecting to come out of these bondages. But most of them have no clear idea about the power and limitations of the U.F. Government.

During the installation of last U.F. Govt. and also during election campaign we have repeatedly pinpointed the fact that the present U.F. Govt. installed through election has no real power to solve the basic problems of the people. Because the capitalist system which existed before installation of the U.F. Govt. still exists to-day and it is this capitalist system which is precisely responsible for all the fundamental problems of the people. The capitalist State structure, its Constitution and the concept of law and order have been formed, in such a fashion that this capitalist exploitation is consolidated and strengthened. So the U.F. Govt. which has been formed under this capitalist State structure with its Constitution has no real power to solve the basic problems of the present society excepting introducing a few reforms for the common people. Emancipation of the people from all sorts of oppression and exploitation is only possible through revolutionary overthrow of the present capitalist State structure and establishment of socialist society free from all exploitation under the leadership of a genuine

working class party. Now one may ask whether the present Govt. installed through election has any power at all to do anything? We feel that this Govt. can do something. The U.F. Govt. can control bureaucracy and police in favour of mass movement and introduce certain reforms conducive to the interest of the masses and with this aim in view the 32-point programme of the U.F. has been formulated.

R. K. B

But even in introducing reforms a definite political outlook is to be reflected. Because these reforms can be implemented in two ways. Those who want to keep the masses away from revolutionary politics and are out to confine them within the orbit of parliamentary politics introduce those reforms in such a way so that no revolutionary consciousness develops amongst the people. On the contrary in carrying out these reforms, people are made to believe that their basic problems can be solved through reforms within the framework of present State structure. As a result general people loses

firm determination in building up organisation for the revolution and an illusion of parliamentary politics is created. In consequence capitalism is consolidated and strengthened uninterrupted within the framework of capitalist State structure. People must be cautious of these parties, whatever be their nomenclature, who conduct the Government administration with the above outlook as they help the consolidation of capitalism and betray the cause of the liberation struggle. But those who want to smash the capitalist State through revolution, participate in Government for building up militant mass movement and for imbuing the people with revolutionary consciousness. So in introducing reforms, a revolutionary party has to conduct the movement in such a fashion so that the people do not become victims of reformism, but on the contrary, revolutionary consciousness and militant organisations of the masses are built up through these reforms.

Now in carrying out the 32-point programme the present U.F. Govt. will have two limitations. The first limitation is the capitalist structure of the State and the second one is the Constitutional limitation of the country of which the former is fundamental. In the Constitution of India the power of the Centre and the State has been specified and most of the political and economic power has been grabbed by the Centre. The Constitution written after the achievement of political independence has been formed for protecting the interest of monopoly capitalism. This

is why the autonomy of the States has been drastically curtailed. The financial legislative and administrative powers have been mainly vested in the Centre. With full utilisation of these powers at Centre State monopoly capital is being created with the fusion of State capital and monopoly capital and thereby through steady consolidation of capitalism total political power of the country is being concentrated at the Centre. As a result, so far as the administration is concerned the power of the State governments is only nominal and total control of the Central Government has been established. Everybody remembers that the speech of Com. Subodh Banerji, the Labour Minister of the last U.F. Govt. could not be read as the A.I.R authority was insisting on whimsical alteration of his written speech. In protest against this autocratic policy of the Central Govt. all the Ministers of the last U.F. Govt. boycotted the radio speech.

The attitude of the Centre to the State Govt. had been amply demonstrated by the most undemocratic dismissal of the last U.F. Govt. It is seen that at the instance of the Centre, Mr. Dharma Vira, the bureaucratic Governor of West Bengal, dismissed a popularly elected Government at the very moment he thought that the Government did not enjoy the confidence of the majority of legislators. Thus it can be asserted that in India Constitutional dictatorship has been established under the guise of parliamentary democracy. There is possibility of direct confrontation of the States with the

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CONSOLIDATION OF MONOPOLY CAPITAL HAS LED TO THE CONCENTRATION OF POLITICAL POWER AT THE CENTRE

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Centre as the aforesaid character of the Centre has not undergone any change. Under the circumstances the demand of the States for greater power from Centre is legitimate and it is also logical from the point of view of the growth of future democratic movement.

Secondly under the existing State administration the State Government have to depend much on the Centre in implementing various social welfare measures. In legislation the State Government has no doubt been vested with power in some cases; but in some other cases these are in the exclusive jurisdiction of the Centre. Besides these there are some other subjects which fall under the concurrent list. But even in the cases falling under the concurrent list the main power lies with the Centre. For example we like to cite the instance of six bills framed by Com. Subodh Banerji, the Labour Minister of the last U. F. Ministry. Those bills were sent to the President for approval and as the subject under the bill was under the concurrent list the approval of the President was essential. Needless to say that the approval was not received and as the ministry was dissolved nothing could be done at that time. It is hoped that this time those bills will be quickly enacted and the workers will be provided with some relief. But in this case also confrontation with the Centre cannot be ruled out.

Thirdly the State Government will have to depend much on the Centre for implementing the various development projects and carrying out various social welfare measures, because

the financial resources of the State is meagre and all the resources are controlled by the Centre. So these social welfare measures which can be executed even within this State structure cannot be implemented unless the adequate Central assistance is forthcoming and if not confrontation with Centre will be inevitable.

In India these questions could not arise so far as the Congress party was in the helm of administration both at the Centre as well as at the States. It is because of the installation of non-Congress Govt. in various States these conflicts with the Centre have developed. We feel that the demands of the States are legitimate and unless these are met the little amount of welfare measures that can be done within the limitations cannot be fulfilled.

In the last session of the legislature a unanimous resolution has been accepted for securing greater assistance from the Centre for these social welfare measures and the opposition Congress party has also assured their full support for it. But we know that the assurances of the State Congress and the Central Govt. have no real value. During the installation of the last U.F. Governments, the Central Government assured their assistance to these U.F. Governments. But we know that the Centre has not even kept their commitment on the questions of food and other issues. Lastly they illegally dismissed the U. F. Govt. This time also the Centre will try to create obstruction for U.F. Government so that they cannot function for a long time. Reports from Ministers who went to Delhi for seeking assistance confirm that the

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C. C. STATEMENT ON UNLAWFUL ACTIVITIES (PREVENTION) ACT

Com. Shibdas Ghose, General Secretary S U. C. I. has issued the following statement to the Press :—

“We strongly condemn the recent move by the Congress Government at the Centre to enlarge the ambit of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act. The proposed legislation, in the words of the Union Home Minister, is directed “against organisations acting in pursuance of ideologies based on armed insurrection.”

“According to the Union Home Minister, the urgency of the move has been occasioned by “the activities of the extremist Maoist groups in the different States,” who, “have been preaching that a violent revolution is the only way of bringing about social, political and economic changes in the country” and the “organisations that seek to promote hatred or enmity between different sections of the population on grounds of religion, place of birth, residence or language”.

“This argument of Shri Chavan is the usual argument of a despot. Freedom of thought, expression and organisation and for that matter the propagation of ideologies of armed insurrection is the fundamental democratic right of the people recognised in every civilised country and even by the Constitution of our country. This fundamental right of the people cannot be allowed to be curbed by the Government. Any Government that wants to curb it or any person who supports this move by the Government must be condemned as an enemy of the people. Hence no power can be given to the Government to deal with the philosophy and propagation of ideologies and stop free flow of thought including the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

“The real motive behind the move of the Union Government is to raise the bogey of

extremists preaching ideologies based on armed insurrection and under the smokescreen of the necessity of fighting the Naxalites, further curtail the already curtailed meagre fundamental democratic rights of the people granted by the Constitution of our country, concentrate more power in the hands of the State so that such arbitrary autocratic power can be used at will against the political opponents of the Congress as and when necessary. In no democratic institution can this be allowed.

“The other category of activities, namely, the communal, provincial or parochial activities by the anti-secular communal organisations have been there for a long time. Progressive democratic and left parties and individuals outside the legislature and members of legislature belonging to different left parties have urged upon the Congress Government at the Centre times without number to take strong steps against these communal organisations. But the Congress Government did not move even an inch to curb the activities of such organisations like the R. S. S. and even though there is no dearth of law to deal with them appropriately. On the contrary the big Congress bosses have lent support to them on more than one occasion, openly patronised paramilitary organisations like Siva Sena, Lachit Sena, and encouraged Congress supporters to start communal, provincial, linguistic riots resulting in massacre of hundreds of persons belonging to the minority community and Harijans.

“The plea of controlling the activities of the communal

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Resolve Differences Through Ideological Struggles

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gical political consciousness, without which creation of public opinion in favour of radical transformation of existing society based on exploitation of man by man will ever remain an impossibility, open polemical discussions, open ideological struggles between different constituents of the United Front on various questions are essentially necessary for social progress. The ideological struggle must, of course, follow correct norms. Correct norms, *inter alia*, preclude deliberate distortion of the political stand of another constituent party of the United Front and slander. They also envisage the correct application of the dialectical principle of unity-struggle-unity. When one unites with another, one should not cease struggles; rather, one should continue the struggle so that the unity is strengthened by removing misunderstanding and correcting incorrect politics. Thus ideological struggles between constituent parties of the United Front, if carried on according to the correct principle and norms of conducting these struggles, will further strengthen the unity of the Front in place of weakening it. But since questions of right and wrong in the sphere of knowledge, in epistemological questions, (with which ideology is concerned) cannot be settled by breaking others' heads or shedding others' blood, ideological struggles do not admit of violent clashes referred to hereinbefore. Thus the existence of different political parties with divergent and even diametrically opposite ideologies, no doubt, presupposes ideological struggles between them, but surely does not presuppose violent clashes of the type mentioned earlier, as concluded by the political commentators of some newspapers.

Promode Das Gupta, CPI(M) leader, has a different reading of the problem. On one occasion, in course of an interview with some pressmen he is reported to have said that the violent clashes between different constituent parties of the United Front are the work of CIA agents. This report has so far gone uncontradicted by Promode Babu and the CPI(M). We can, therefore, take it as the reading of the CPI(M). No sober person can take this analysis of the CPI(M) of so serious a problem, with which the United Front is now confronted, as correct. Indeed it is no analysis at all, let alone a scientific analysis. It is true that the menace of CIA agents is assuming alarming proportions. It is even not improbable that some CIA agents have infiltrated into some constituent parties of the United Front (we admit, we have no definite information of it). It may even be that some of these agents have wormed their way upto the leadership of some parties. These are all conceded for arguments' sake. But still then the question remains—is it possible for these CIA agents to carry the entire party with them in violent clashes against the will of the leadership? Furthermore, if the CIA agents can do it against the decision of the leadership, is not the party then a party of motley crowd? Is not the leadership then rotten to the core?

On another occasion Promode Babu is reported to have said to some pressmen that after the defeat of the Congress at the polls in the last mid-term election in West Bengal and consequent dislodgement from Governmental power, the anti-social elements, who had so long been under the protection of Congress, are transferring their allegiance to the constituent parties of the United Front for

safety and security. This, according to Promode Babu, accounts for the violent clashes between different constituent parties of the United Front. This report also has gone uncontradicted by the CPI(M). If we assume this study of the CPI(M) to be correct, the science of probable logic leads us to conclude that the shoes fit in with the CPI(M)'s feet. If the anti-social elements leave the Congress and transfer their allegiance to some constituent parties of the United Front for reasons of safety, security and protection, they will certainly choose that party which can give them protection because of its overall control over administration, particularly the Home (Police) Department. Which is that party? It is the C. P. I. (M). So if the anti-social elements seek protection under any party, they will certainly seek the protection of the C. P. I.-(M). Local reports also confirm it. If we take Promode Babu's statement as an instance of the doctrine that offence is the best way of defence, our reading that anti-social elements are transferring their allegiance from the Congress to the C.P.I.(M) for protection and safety, a reading based on the science of probable logic, gets further confirmation. But this is not the point at issue. The point is whether or not the existence of some anti-social elements in the party accounts for the violent clashes between different constituent parties of the United Front. In our considered view it is not the real cause. For, can some anti-social elements drag the entire party with them in violent clashes with other fraternal parties? And if they can, then the only sensible conclusion is that the party is not a party wedded to the task of leading the people in struggle against vested

interests and reaction; it is a party of hoodlums. The leadership also is not worth its salt; it is the leadership of imbecile bureaucrats to whom cannot be entrusted the task of leading the people. The sooner that leadership and that party are liquidated, the better for the masses of the people and their struggle for emancipation from the yoke of capitalist rule.

In finding out the root cause of the violent clashes between different constituent parties of the United Front we are to go deep into the cultural affair obtaining in our country at present. Every student of history knows that nowhere in the world has the revolution ever succeeded without the creation of public opinion in favour of the revolution by conducting cultural revolution. In other words, cultural revolution always and everywhere precedes actual revolution, that is, actual seizure of power through mass uprising. This had been true in case of the bourgeois revolutions in the epoch of rising capitalism. This had been equally true in case of the February Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution and the November Socialist Revolution in Russia. This had been true for the Chinese revolution also. But in our country the tasks of social and cultural revolutions had been utterly neglected during the period of our anti-imperialist struggle for national independence. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, leader and teacher of our Party, has made a brilliant analysis of the situation in his **Address To The Delegates of The National Democratic Convention**. He said: "The result of compromises with feudalism was that Indian bourgeoisie could not and did not carry out the tasks of social and cultural revolutions

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“Blind allegiance and Fanaticism is the basis of Fascist Culture”—Com. Shibdas Ghosh

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essential for the democratization of society and complete merger of different nationalities speaking different languages and different communities professing different religions into a nation. In the course of political movement against imperialism, the Indian people speaking different languages and professing different religions became a nation politically but for failure on the part of the leadership of our national liberation movement to accomplish, in the main, the tasks of social and cultural revolutions against feudalism, feudal disunity and religious bondage for democratization of society, the Indian people remained socially and culturally divided into different communities disunited by religion, caste, language, etc.” For not carrying out the cultural revolution the level of ideological, political and cultural consciousness of the people remained very low.

The position did not improve after attainment of independence either. In the present era of disintegration of imperialism and of proletarian revolutions, when the bourgeoisie has become even more reactionary and has thrown overboard the banner of even bourgeois-democratic liberties and the banner of social and cultural revolutions for complete democratization of society, communists have the sacred duty of upholding these banners and carrying out the tasks of social and cultural revolutions. But the tragedy is that even those who have the signboard **Communist** attached to them, not only do not fight for accomplishing the unaccomplished tasks of social and cultural revolutions but, on the contrary, encourage social and religious prejudices and conventions on the pretext

of safeguarding national heritage for fear of losing so called popularity and seats in election. The result of it has been that democratic movements in our country have exhausted themselves in movements for the realisation of only political and economic demands. The tasks of social and cultural revolutions have never been incorporated in the programme for democratic movements. It has led to relatively further lowering of the level of ideological-political consciousness and cultural standard of the people as a whole.

This low level of ideological-political consciousness of the masses of the people is reflected in the low level of ideological-political consciousness of the ranks of the so-called communist parties and their leaders, which again is further lowering the level of ideological-political consciousness of the ranks of the parties and the masses of the people. Thus a vicious circle is in force, resulting in constant lowering of the level of ideological-political consciousness of the ranks and the leaders of these parties, of course, relatively.

Discipline is essential in a party. Without unity of will and without absolute unity of action on the part of the members of the party as a whole there can be no discipline, if the discipline is to be stable and strong. Unity of will and absolute unity of action is dependent on consciousness of the members of the party. But if the level of consciousness of the members of the party as a whole is very low then discipline is maintained by developing blindness among the members about the party and its leaders. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, General Secretary of our Party, as

far back as 1952, had said: “We have all along been saying that the C.P.I. (at that time the Communist Party of India was not divided into the C.P.I. and the C.P.I. (M)—Editor, Proletarian Era) leadership from the very beginning has imposed the method of blind practice on its members and has tried to instil into them the spirit of party-fanaticism and blind obedience to the Party as a means of maintaining internal solidarity and discipline.” (*Community Party of India X-Rayed*). The same method of maintaining internal solidarity and discipline based on blindness and party fanaticism is still at work in most of the so-called big parties of the United Front, especially C.P.I. (M). A few instances may serve to illustrate it. We have already discussed earlier that unity to be stable must be conscious. Hence, for closer unity between different constituent parties of the United Front, correct understanding of one another's political line and approach to various matters is essentially necessary. This calls for, among other things, serious study of books and literature of other parties. But we are constrained to say that only study of books and literature of different constituent parties of the Front is not encouraged; on the contrary, deliberate and definite obstacles are created by the leadership of some parties, especially the C.P.I. (M), so as to keep the ranks totally misinformed, if not completely ignorant, of the views of other parties. On more than one occasion in the meetings of the United Front we have heard some leaders of the C.P.I. (M) openly say that they do not read the books and literature of their own party,

not to speak of the books and literature of other parties. But the worst part of it is that they do not feel shy to say it; they rather take it as a matter of pride not to read the books and literature of other parties. If this be the mentality of the leaders of the party, one can very well imagine how deep the blindness and fanaticism will be in the ranks of the party. This refusal to study the books and literature of other parties is not all. We have definite information from reliable sources that party members are strictly forbidden to attend public meetings organised by others. The C.P.I. (M) members were instructed not to attend the meeting held by our Party on the occasion of our Party foundation anniversary. Thirdly, it is everybody's knowledge that when the workers of one party go to public meetings organised by another party to sell books and literature of the former party, very often the workers and supporters of the latter party assembled in the meeting attack the former, take away the books and destroy them. This has happened in our case at meetings organised by the C.P.I. (M) at Calcutta, Durgapur and some other places. Fourthly, misrepresentation of the stand of another party amounting to deliberate slander has been a common feature. We are not afraid of criticism. We rather invite criticism from other constituent parties of the United Front, for, we do not consider anybody or any party, including us, to be infallible; we are serious and sincere in rectifying our mistakes, if there is any; we are determined to move correctly in achieving our goal. In this respect criticism by others

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Defeat the Conspiracies of the Centre by relying on consciously organised militant mass movement

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attitude of the Centre is not helpful and confrontation in these cases with the Centre is inevitable.

We feel that an organised and conscious mass movement is to be built up for wresting more power to the State Govt., from the unwilling hand of the Centre as also to check the heinous conspiracy of the Centre against the U.F. Govt. Because all the formal protests, resolutions of the Council of Ministers and statements will be futile unless these are backed by organised mass movements. In order to shape these mass movements U.F. Government will have to carry out certain tasks. Firstly people have got to be made conscious about the nature of the conflict of the Centre with the States. Secondly U. F. Govt. will have to implement those welfare measures immediately which can be implemented by the State Government. For though it is true that most of the powers are at the Centre still the State Government has also some power. We shall fail in our duty if we constantly blame the Centre without fully utilising the power vested in the State and by that we shall only strengthen the hand of our opponent in confusing the mass against us and as a result the movement against the Centre will be weakened. So if the limited power vested in the State is fully utilised, the mischievous propaganda of the reactionary forces can be effectively countered and thus by freeing the masses from all misconception a militant unity amongst the masses can be forged.

For example, the demand for foodgrain of the State to the Centre is very legitimate.

Food Minister himself went to Delhi and the position had been made clear. There is also grievance among the people regarding the dubious role played by the Centre in respect of foodgrains. But at the same time this demand of foodgrain will be strengthened, the Central conspiracy will be exposed and the people can be solidly united against Centre if we can fulfil the task of internal procurement with a firm determination. So the foodgrains are to be procured through levy and from open market in one hand and side by side the armed chain of black marketeers, hoarders and jotedars is to be smashed and foodgrain market is to be freed from their clutches. If this task cannot be performed the food problem of the State cannot be solved inspite of bumper crop and no definite picture of the food situation of the country can be visualised. This unholy chain of blackmarketeers and dishonest officers can only be broken by the Home Ministry. If the total internal procurement within the State is ensured a clear picture of the foodgrain position can be presented to the people as well as to the Centre and in case of non-cooperation of the Centre, a strong anti-Centre movement can be built up.

Thirdly in executing all the welfare measures, the State Government must not depend solely on the bureaucratic machinery but these tasks are to be accomplished through popular support and popular movement. In this case we can cite the example of seizure of benami land illegally held by the jotedars and distribution of the same to the agricultural labourers and landless peasants. This is an immediate

task but this cannot be done depending solely on bureaucracy and with a legalistic approach to the problem. The task of seizure and distribution of benami land is to be done by building up an organised movement of the agricultural labourers and the landless peasants. If the power vested in the State is so used through popular democratic movement, the influence of the clique of the reactionary forces and the bureaucratic hierarchy within the State as well as within the administration can be effectively curtailed and thus the limitation of the State Government and the necessity of anti-Centre movement can be directly felt by the people.

Fourthly in order to raise the consciousness of the people and build up a militant organisation, all the legitimate democratic movements against injustice and oppression are not only to be supported and encouraged but these must be made free from police and bureaucratic interference. Adventurism that might creep in the legitimate movement is to be guarded against but under no circumstances the movement is to be suppressed or fervour of the movement is to be slowed down on this pretext. The most important thing is that a legalistic outlook of the present State whose character is antagonistic to the interest of the working class, will be a hindrance to develop and strengthen democratic movement. In this connection the teaching of our beloved leader Com. Shibdas Ghose is very important. According to him, "Every student of ethics and jurisprudence knows that what is legal may not be always justified and moral. Similarly everything illegal in the eye of law is not necessarily unjustified, illegi-

timate and immoral." If the U.F. Govt. is conducted with this attitude, then it will truly become an instrument of struggle for the common man.

In this way if a solid foundation for launching an organised democratic movement within the State can be laid then not only the Centre will be made to concede the necessary demands of the State Govt. but any attempt of the Centre to dismiss the U. F. Ministry can be checkmated also. Without any preparation for the mass movement, only statements against Centre will be mere verbosity and in reality it will not help in any way in protecting the State Govt. against the onslaught of the Centre.

At present it is seen that stress is laid on discussions, resolutions of the Council of Ministers or on protest notes instead of relying on building up massive democratic movement. On the question of food there is no doubt that the Centre will have to meet the legitimate demand of the State but side by side it seems to us that the task of internal procurement by smashing the chain of jotedars and blackmarketeers has not been taken up with right earnest. Home Ministry will have to do this job immediately failing which the food front will be in danger. We may make our hands clean by shifting all the responsibility to the Centre but in reality it cannot protect the interest of the people and by it the anti-Centre movement will not be strengthened.

We observe that the statements, resolutions and protest notes are relied on in resolving the conflict with the Centre instead of taking recourse to the arduous task of building up massive democratic movement.

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Not the slogan of capturing power at Delhi through election but developing militant mass struggle

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Similarly on the other hand it is seen that a few parties particularly the C. P. M. are proclaiming to capture the power at Delhi particularly, to resolve this conflict and so they are attempting to install U.F. Ministry at the Centre in 1972 election.

The opinion of Mr. Basabpunniah in this case was reported in the Statesman in 19th March 1969. It runs as follows "The new and interesting part of the argument is that C.P.I.(M) now visualises the possibility of such cleavage in the Congress Govt. at the Centre and of its being replaced by a United Democratic Front comprising all political parties and groups representing workers, peasants, middle classes and the 'non-bigbourgeoisie' who might go out of the Congress or the 'grip of the big bourgeoisie landlord combine.'

Recently Sri Promode Das Gupta has written a letter to the speaker of the Parliament and the same has been published in the Bengali daily "Basumati." In it he has written "Indian administration and its Constitution have been framed in such a fashion that neither the desire of the common man can be fulfilled nor progress towards socialism is possible within the limitations. And so the Constitution is to be amended. For this the people will have to build a powerful mass movement and Constitution favourable to the interest of the people is to be framed through installation of a popular Front Govt. at the Centre" (Basumati 6th April 1969). Sri Das Gupta has no doubt mentioned about the necessity of mass movement, but the central theme of his statement is that the desire of the people can be fulfilled and progress towards socialism

will be possible if the Constitution is amended through installation of U. F. Govt. at the Centre and this is why the mass movement is to be built up. C. P. M. is repeatedly stressing the necessity of U. F. Govt. at Centre through election. As a result this mental make-up is growing among the people that installation of U. F. Ministry at Centre will help in solving all the problems. Thus the necessity of building up militant organisation and political consciousness loses much importance to them and parliamentary illusion grows amongst the people.

Can broaden the prospect of people's liberation

On the other hand after the formation of U. F. Govt. importance is laid on the subjects like negotiations in resolving the dispute between the employer and the employee, maintenance of peace in industry, removal of difficulties faced by the employers etc. We are definitely not against maintenance of peace in industry or negotiation in resolving disputes between employers and employees where there is any possibility. But the central theme of the labour policy should be to protect and patronise the legitimate democratic trade union movement and if this is by-passed and stress is laid on "peace in industry" on "negotiations" etc. then it reflects a definite attitude of the Govt. which is not congenial to the growth of militant consciousness of the workers. Not only they are not stressing on protecting and supporting legitimate democratic mass movement but the attitude reflected by them in respect of movement is hampering the growth of militant consciousness. For example, the opinion expressed by Sri Sundarayya regarding

gherao has been reported in Ganasakti. He said "But when there is people's own Govt. and that Govt. is ready to protect the interest of workers then the necessity of gherao ceases" (Ganasakti 17th March 1969).

It is true that there are various types of opinion about gherao movement. But the way they are talking about it will cause irreparable damage to the militant consciousness of the workers. And in this way if militant consciousness of the people is impaired and the people are duped in parliamentary politics then not

of capturing Delhi through election must be stopped and the people must be freed from the illusion of parliamentary politics. Instead the U.F. Govt. should adopt such concrete measures by which people's militant mass organisations are rapidly built up and if this can be done we shall be able to solve the problem of Centre-State relation or any such issues.

No class conscious politician can deny the importance of building up mass movements and militant organisations of the working class in freeing the exploited class from the illusion of parliamentary politics. Our appeal to them is to be on guard to see whether that class outlook acceptable to the U.F. Govt.

only they will fail in resisting the Central onslaught but revolutionary politics and revolutionary movements will be at stake. In consequence taking advantage of the weakness of revolutionary movements, capitalism will be strengthened and consolidated and people's liberation struggle will receive serious set-back.

We feel that even if there is possibility of capturing the Centre through election it is to be viewed in the context of developing militant consciousness and organisation and mass movement, and not with a reformist outlook. Thus under no circumstances this impression is to be created amongst the people that nothing can be done without changing the Constitution and so with the installation of U.F. Ministry at the Centre the Constitution can be changed and everything will be alright. This is to be constantly remembered that within the present State structure the worker's interest cannot be safe-guarded from capitalist exploitation by amendment of Constitution or by bringing in new legislation. So the slogan

of W. Bengal is being correctly reflected. In case of any deviation they must come forward and rectify the same.

The statement of S.U.C.I.

(Continued from page 3)

organisations now being raised by the Union Home Minister, therefore, is an eye-wash meant to shield the real political motive of the Congress mentioned above, namely to concentrate more power in the hands of the State and use those arbitrary autocratic powers in suppressing political opponents of the Congress.

"The more isolated the Congress Rulers are becoming from the masses for their anti-people activities, the more dependent they are becoming on the police, military and bureaucracy and more blatantly they are curbing the fundamental democratic rights of freedom of thought, expression and organisation of the people resulting in further and further contraction of fundamental democratic rights. Whatever may be one's political difference with another party, the powers of dealing with ideology cannot be given to the Government. We, therefore, urge upon all political parties and the people at large to raise a united voice of protest against the contemplated move, create strong mass sanction and force the Congress Government at the Centre to withdraw the proposed legislation."

Maintain Unity of the Front like the apple of an eye for strengthening democratic mass movements

(Continued from page 5)

will only help us. In the same spirit, with the same object of helping other constituent parties of the United Front to get over their weaknesses and rectify their mistakes we criticise any body or any party. So we hate slandering. We hate to put in other party's mouth what that other party has not said, what is not the political stand of that other party. "Tell a lie, repeat it loudly, continue repeating it more and still more loudly; it will become truth"—We despise with all the force at our command this doctrine of Dr. Goebles, Propaganda Minister of Hitlerite Germany. Only a politically weak party, a politically opportunist party distorts other party's say, takes recourse to slandering to conceal its own weakness. The S.U.C. is not politically weak. It is prepared to face any party on ideological political plane. But the biggest constituent party of the United Front, it appears, is no believer of this Marxist-Leninist position. The Secretariat of the West Bengal State Committee of the C.P.I. (M) has been reported in the Press to have decided to carry on a propaganda war against the "revisionists and the S.U.C." How far the C.P.I. (M) is conducting that war against "the revisionists" is anybody's guess. The sign of this war against the revisionists which our people are finding is that the top leaders of the C. P. I.(M) and "the revisionist" C. P. I. had been at a summit conference a few days back to devise ways and means to come closer. But so far as our Party is concerned, if any one takes the trouble of turning over the pages of the last several months' **Ganasakti, Deshitaishi and Peoples Democracy**

one will come across application of the above-mentioned doctrine of Dr. Goebles in the most naked form, and a plethora of lies, slander and deliberate distortion of our stand—all directed with the sole purpose of exploiting the genuine feelings of the ranks of the C.P.I. (M) to develop party fanaticism and fanatic hatred against the S.U.C. and accordingly to forestall all influences of our correct politics on the ranks of the C.P.I. (M). This may pay temporary dividends in maintaining internal solidarity and discipline of the party but it is fraught with seriously dangerous consequences to the detriment of revolutionary preparation in our country. There is no doubt about it. The atmosphere of party fanaticism resulting in intolerance of others' point of view and blindness will only help fascism to thrive. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's note of caution in this connection is worth reiterating. He said: "Blind obedience, mechanical sense of discipline and all sorts of prejudice are the cultural base of fascism. The mind and will to discuss, debate and exchange views with others is about to die out in every sphere of national life. On every controversial issue, big party chauvinism, demagoguery and overweening opinion of one's own intellect or the tune of the dictum that truth can be attained only through faith and not through discourse and argument is being reflected. Among the left parties, particularly among the leaders and ranks of the big left parties, also, absence of philosophical tolerance can be noticed. The mind to examine with patience the point of view of others, criticism by the political opponents, is about to dis-

appear. Blindness and party fanaticism are increasingly on the rise. It seems that the leaders and ranks of these big parties do not feel the slightest prick of conscience to take recourse to cooked up stories, blatant lies and slander just for maligning another party. This behaviour of theirs reminds one of Goebles and Mussolini. Many of them perhaps do not even know that this closed-door frame of mind is helping in the development of fascistic mental make-up in our country." (**Crisis in culture and Fascism.**)

Party fanaticism existed before the United Front had come to Governmental power. How is it then that this root cause of violent clashes between different constituent parties still remaining, actual clashes did not take place before the United Front's coming to power? There is nothing unnatural in it. Science teaches us that the mere presence of the cause does not automatically lead to its effect under all conditions. The cause leads to effect under favourable conditions only. The unprincipled policy of

using the administration to further sectarian interests and fill up the vacuum created by the defeat of the Congress with the purpose of rapidly expanding the influence of respective parties adopted by most of so-called big constituent parties of the United Front has created that favourable condition. If party fanaticism which is the root cause had not been there violent clashes between different constituent parties of the United Front would not have taken place in spite of this favourable condition.

We request different constituent parties of the United Front to give serious thought over what we have said hereinbefore, if they are really serious about finding out the root cause of violent clashes between them and stop them for good. It must be realised that the remedy lies in creating an atmosphere where free flow and inter-action of ideas, healthy open polemical discussions, can take place without bias or prejudices, without malice or rancour to negation of party fanaticism, blindness and intolerance of others' opinions.

U.T.U.C. Statement on Industrial Security Force Act

Sri Fatick Ghosh, the Secretary of W. B. State Committee of U.T.U.C. (48, Dharmatalla Street, Calcutta) is issuing the following statement to the Press :—

"Our attention has been drawn to the news circulated in the dailies that the Central Minister on steel, Sri Poonacha has decided to implement the Central Industrial Security Force Act in Durgapur Steel Plant. We are strongly protesting against this unjust decision. We think that the 'Central Security Force Act' is an undemocratic repressive Act and its sole motive is to crush the legitimate democratic Trade Union movements of workers engaged in central government and semi-government undertakings guided by Central rules. Besides this, it is curbing the power of the State Government and is

creating a parallel force almost as powerful as the police force in the State. If such an Act is given effect to, it will also compel a big section of the present Security personnel now working in the Plant to face retrenchment. So we appeal that the State Government should take immediate necessary steps to stop implementation of this Act. We also call upon the fighting people of West Bengal, and specially the working class to come forward and wage relentless powerful struggle against the ill-motive of the Central Government and frustrate this vicious move of the Centre."